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and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and particularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au*, including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi*, because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi*.

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

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found, the same terms as for other first cousins being used—that is, the terms for brothers and sisters. 601

Grandparents were called *tupuna (tupuna ahana*, grandfather; *tupuna vehine*, grandmother). All old people and ancestors in general were referred to as *tupuna*. Great-grandparents were *peka*, great-great-grandparents, *hina* or *hina tau*, and great-great-great-grandparents, *peka hina*. These terms applied also to great-uncles, great-aunts, and so on. Grandchildren were *moupuna* or *toupuna* (*moupuna tama*, grandson, and *moupuna mo'i*, granddaughter). The same term was applied generally to descendants, also to grandchildren-in-law, great-nephews, and nieces. Dordillon (8) gives *tu'o'i te pe'a* for grandchildren or descendants. Great-grandchildren were *peka, hinatu, tu'o'i, tu'o'i te hina* (8) or *maveka* (8). Great-great-grandchildren were *hina;* great-great-great-grandchildren, *peka hina*.

Pakeke indicated a collateral relationship between persons who were, as natives express it, linked by three persons (*e tou enata.*) Thus *motua pakeke* was the term used for the first cousins of one's father (one's cousins once removed), one's father, father's father, father's father's brother, for example, being the three persons linking one with such a first cousin once removed. *Toupu'una* signified a collateral relationship between persons linked by four persons *(e fa enata)*. Thus second cousins were called *toupu'una*, there standing between the two, for example, a father, a father's father, a father's father's brother, and a father's father's brother's son. The reason for the use of *toupu'una* to designate the relationship between parents-in-law is not apparent.

In common parlance a foster parent, child, or other relative, was referred to as though he or she were a blood relative, but the foster relationship was more strictly specified by placing one or the other of the following adjectives, signifying adoption, after the usual relationship term: *tafai*, literally, to feed, the most common term; also *to'o*, to take; *maohi*, to seize or take; and *hopu*, to embrace or take. Dordillon (8) gives *mataautea* as meaning foster child. *Motua tafai* would mean foster father; *mo'i tafai*, foster daughter. 601 597

Age classes were referred to by the following terms: *toiki (to'i'i, poti'i* or *potiki, po'iti)* were little children up to about the age of six. There was no term meaning infant or baby; *tama*, children of both sexes from birth up to adolescence; *tama oa*, boy, *mo'i* or *paho'e*, girl, *mahai;* an adolescent youth and *pokoehu*, an adolescent girl; *ahana*, males of virile age; and *vehine*, women of reproductive age; *ko'o'ua*, old men and *pa'afi'o (pakafi'o, pa'ahi'o)*, old women. 601 561

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ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild.

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers.

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family.

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

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general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, refusal constituting an insult.

Purpose of Adoption

The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family. One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

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Adoption Rites for Chiefs

The following information regarding adoption by chiefs of Nuku Hiva was derived from the Dordillon MS. (9): When a chief was about to adopt a child, he called on everyone of his tribe to bring presents, which consisted of ornaments. The chief's family, carrying the presents, then proceeded to the house of the woman who had borne the child, and then the presents were given to the child's mother. When they were presented, she was asked formally if she consented to the adoption. She gave formal assent. This formality was repeated. Then the child was given to the chief's relatives and brought back to his house. Subsequently, the true father and mother of the child carried to the chief double the amount of presents they had received. On arriving at the chief's house, the presents were laid down and were snatched up by the members of the household who thereafter had to make equal return to the donors. Following this rite, there was feasting, talking, and sleeping for three days. The visiting family then returned home and the formalities were finished.

The following account of the rites of adoption was obtained on Hiva Oa. In the formalities there were four stages, each stage being accompanied by the presentation of gifts: a formal demand on the part of the adopters made to the parents of the child before it was born; the coming of the adopting family to the house of the true parents immediately after the child was born to give it a name from their genealogy; the transfer of the child to the adopters at the time of its weaning; and the final feast at the time of the presentation of gifts by the true parents to defray the expense of bringing up the child. The exchange of presents connected with adoption was called *hai taetae* (send possessions) in the north (Nuku Hiva) and *touna hee* in the south (Hiva Oa).

The rites described below are those that were performed in connection with the adoption by an Atu Ona family of a child born in the valley of Hana Mate, Hiva Oa—in other words, an adoption from one tribe into another. (Adoption within a tribe, which was the most common form, was accompanied by less formality.) When the mother was pregnant, a formal demand for the expected child was sent from the family in Atu Ona. A gift of *feikai, kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) and a large hog, carried by the sisters of the adopting father and the brothers of the adopting mother, accompanied the demand. It was always a foregone conclusion that the demand would be accepted.

Upon the birth of the child a messenger was immediately sent to Atu Ona to notify the adopting family. The adopting parents with the adopting father's sisters and the adopting mother's brothers and others of their

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597 family set out, carrying *kaaku* as a food offering. As they approached the house of the true parents, the women of the visiting family chanted sections of their genealogy. This chanting, which was always done by [195] women in a loud high voice, was called *hahi*. Their hosts called to them to come up to the house, giving the conventional summons, *"Amai, amai"* (Come, come), called in a singing voice. There the adopting father's sisters and adopting mother's brothers presented the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers with the food offering. All seated themselves inside the house and the recipients of the food offering placed the packets of *kaaku* on their heads, leaving them there, while an old man, a member of the adopting family, chanted the *pu'e*, the creation or generation chant. The women of the two families followed this by chanting their genealogies. Then the true father's sisters and true mother's brothers ate the food gift, after which a feast was prepared for the visiting family. The feast over, without formalities the foster mother's oldest sister gave the child a name from its foster father's genealogy. The child then remained with its true parents until it was weaned.

The third rite, at the time of weaning, was called *pua'a koua*. A messenger arrived at Atu Ona to inform the adopting family that the time had arrived for weaning the child. Each of the sisters of the adopting [287] father immediately set to work to make a strip of red banyan bark cloth, the *tapu* material used for the loin cloth of a sacred male child. Each of the adopting father's maternal uncles secured a pig. When all was ready, the family set out for Hana Mate, the sisters carrying their cloth and the brothers their pigs. As was always done on such formal occasions, the women of the family chanted their genealogy as they approached the house in Hana Mate. They were summoned to come upon the house platform *(paepae)* in the usual way. As they drew near, the sisters carried their sacred red cloth on their heads. After they had arrived, the eldest sister of the true father brought forward the child and gave it to the eldest sister of the foster father. All the sisters of the adopting father then placed their pieces of cloth on the infant. The pigs were then presented by the brothers, and the ceremony was over. There was no feast on this occasion, because the child, being very small, had to be brought back to Atu Ona immediately. (Another informant told me that the child was brought to its new home on the shoulders of its maternal uncles.) Its true mother accompanied it and stayed with the Atu Ona family until the child was accustomed to its new surroundings.

The final event of these ceremonies was the presentation of the gift of the true parents and their relatives to the adopting family at the feast called *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e*, or *ko'ina hai-taetae* (sending-gifts feast), as it

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was also called. The true family and all their tribe had been occupied for some time in preparing this gift, which was regarded as equalizing the debt to the adopting family that would in the future have to bear the expense of feeding and clothing the child. These gifts formerly consisted for the most part of ornaments and dress materials, but today money furnishes a more convenient form of wealth. When the gift was all ready, a messenger was sent to Atu Ona to announce the day the people of Hana Mate and neighboring valleys were to come for the feast. On the appointed day the visitors came in groups. Some arrived before the immediate family of the child, but the festivities could not begin until the true father had come. He was called, for this event, *fatu* or *vivini*, which means chief, or director. As each group of relatives of the child arrived, they chanted their genealogies as they approached and were summoned to come to the house as usual. When the father arrived, the gifts were presented and the feast was open. All present immediately pounced on all they could find. At these feasts to celebrate an adoption as at those of betrothal, it was the custom for the visitors to scour the precincts and catch and take home all the pigs they could find. The *ko'ina hai-tona-he'e* was always a private affair at the house of the family that had adopted a child, unless it were a chief who was holding the feast when, of course, it was held on his public feast place. This feast completed the formalities of the adoption.

There are a few features of these rites which are of particular interest. Mothers' brothers and fathers' sisters, both true and adoptive, rather than the parents themselves, played the important roles in the whole performance. The practice of placing the food offerings on the heads at the naming, and the red banyan bark cloth at the time of weaning of the child, is indicative of the sacredness of these offerings. The union of the two families was considered as sealed by the chanting of their several genealogies together. The chanting of the *pu'e* I interpret as signifying the unifying of the family stocks clear back to the beginning of things.

NAMES AND NAMING

Genealogies and their ceremonial use furnish one indication of the significance of names in the native mind. The order of creation was sometimes recounted in genealogical form by lists of names—forces and regions stand as names in genealogical sequence. To these names, which to us are impersonal, the native attached all the attributes of personality. This habit of thought is one with the personification of all the content of objective consciousness on the part of the people. The sense of personality and individuality is developed to an extreme point. Between the name and

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Personal Names

Names of individual men and women, that is to say, personal names, were the property of families. It is said that in ancient times one could recognize the family to which an individual belonged by his name. This was certainly true of those who knew genealogy; and there seems to have been in the Marquesas no secrecy with regard to genealogies and personal names such as there was in Tahiti and Hawaii.

Names have no gender, a child's name being decided upon before its birth and given to it regardless of its sex. There was one limitation, however, in connection with this: the same name might be given to two sisters or two brothers, but the same name could not be given to a brother and a sister. The reason for this is obscure. It was in connection with the naming of the first-born, that the greatest care was taken. In the first place all the immediate relatives must agree upon the names that were selected. Names were given to the child by its father, its mother, its grandfathers, its grandmothers, by the father's brothers, and the mother's sisters. It was explained that the object of naming on the part of all these relatives of the child was in order that he should represent every ascending and descending branch of the family. When a child was adopted it was these same relatives who gave the child its adoptive names.

An informant on Nuku Hiva said that one of the names given to every child meant "the head of his mother's brother." For example, there is living in Nuku Hiva now a woman named Te-u'u-o-Taioa, which the informant said was to be translated "the head of Taioa," the woman's maternal uncle being named Taioa. This evidence is particularly interesting in connection with the sanctity of the head, the intimate association of personality and *mana* with the head, and the frequent placing of the child on the heads of *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) in the rites performed during childhood. Naming the child the head of a *pahupahu* would seem to be for the purpose of sealing the most irrefragable bond.

As was said above, names were given to adopted children by exactly the same family representatives as those who named a child actually born in a family. The names given by the adopting family do not, however, seem to have been considered as clearly the personal property as do the names belonging to the family in which one was born. This is proved by the fact that one could give one's child a name from the genealogy of one's adoptive family only with the permission of the members of that family. In adoption a child might be named and adopted either by the father or by the mother or by both. If it were only the mother who gave it a name, a child had no rights from or relationship to the father.

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551 Personal names appear sometimes to have been descriptive rather than genealogical and to have been handed on after their first use, thus becoming genealogical. For example, the name of a woman on Hiva Oa is Tavahi, meaning "one who invents falsehoods." This woman had a great-grandfather, a noted warrior, who was always the first to go ahead of others in battle, who always killed the first man, and so on—according to his own account. In other words, he was a great fabricator with regard to his own prowess. The native admires even the prowess of false boasting, if artfully done. This man's son was therefore given the name Tavahi. This Tavahi was the father of the aunt by whom the present Tavahi was adopted and with whom she lived.

When individuals were adopted a number of times, as frequently occurred, in several different valleys, they were called by different names in the different valleys.

Assuming New Names

553 Men took new names upon certain occasions. A man who killed another man identified his victim's spirit with himself by taking his name. The conception at the basis of this practice may be that the victim's personality became automatically associated with that of the slayer. This is suggested by the following bit of evidence furnished me by Père Siméon: A man, named Tamae, was once put in prison for having killed a gendarme, named Faire. Since, according to Père Siméon, the name Faire was too difficult for natives to pronounce, Tumae continued to be called by his own name, but the deceased gendarme was always referred to as Tumae. This may have been worked out in Marquesas logic in the following way: Tumae was put in prison for killing the gendarme; therefore it was considered that there was an actual reversal of the apparent situation, in that, as a result of the killing, it was the gendarme, or what he represented, that had gained control of Tumae, putting him in prison. In other words the gendarme was actually the victor and was called Tumae—that is, was given his captive's name. Another example of this transfer of names is that of a certain man at Pua Ma'u, who after having killed a donkey belonging to the Protestant mission was thereafter called *puriki* (donkey). It seems probable, however, that this was a nickname given in mockery. As has been said above, a warrior who killed another in battle took the name of his victim. This, like the possession of his skull or other parts of his body, signalized the control of the *mana* of the victim by the victor. Père Siméon records that a man at Hatiheu was called Puaika (ear) because in a cannibal feast he had eaten a war captive's ear, and

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through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more or less permanently.

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All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives.

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Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

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Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

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Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

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his own parents. On the other hand, his mother's sisters or his father's brothers were outside the picture and had no particular functional relationship.

Within the tribe, great attention was paid, at least in theory, to descent. All the Marquesans prided themselves on long genealogies. It was not unusual to have genealogies traced back for sixty to eighty generations, though these earlier ancestors were usually gods or legendary figures. However, authentic genealogies for twenty-five generations do exist and can be checked with the accounts of other Polynesian groups, in cases where the ancestors have migrated from other islands.

In theory, social rank was determined by primogeniture: that is, by descent through eldest children, irrespective of sex. Failure to realize this fact has made much trouble for some students of social organization in Polynesia, who have attempted to build up a case for patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Marquesan society was primogenital, but in a small group of this sort other factors entered in. There were rarely more than 1,000 members in a tribe, each related to the same remote tribal ancestors through half a dozen different lines. Since the Marquesans traced descent through the parent of highest standing in each generation, there was always some point in the line of descent at which one of the ancestors was higher than a contemporary ancestor of some other individual. Genealogies could thus be used to justify actual social relations. The various households went up and down in social prestige and position, and household heads selected which of the possible relationship terms they would use on the basis of which was superior or inferior. Because of the in-breeding, it was always possible for a person actually on top to find a line of descent that was higher at some point than any other line.

Tribal Organization

The tribe was a strictly localized group, all of whose members had a common ancestry, at least in theory. Adoption was considered the social equivalent of birth. In spite of the rivalry

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but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection

that except where the ceremony was used for purposes of social elevation, there was no formal marriage; the eldest son merely took, without ritual, the woman he wanted as wife for the establishment.

When a line which had been building itself up over several generations had wealth enough to rival the chief and was moving toward chiefly status, the chief often avoided conflict by marrying the daughter of the rising household, if first-born, to his eldest son, or else by adopting the eldest son of the other household to be his heir. The chief, in order to preserve his dynasty, had always to keep a weather eye on these rising families.

When the chief adopted the eldest son of another household, the child naturally moved into the chief's establishment. However, the activities of his original household were still focused on him. No other heir was set up by the latter and in time the household dissolved. The former family establishment was abandoned and might be left standing empty for generations. Occasionally some family would take up residence in an abandoned house, but such persons were considered squatters, for a household which had not built its own house had no social status. As a result of this attitude, the Marquesans spent the greater part of their time building house platforms. There was an amazing collection of stonework scattered about. One was seldom out of sight of abandoned house platforms in the valley, a fact which testified, not to a large or shifting population, but simply to the necessity for building a new house for the eldest son whenever the household group could afford it.

These adoptions and marriage alliances, which marked the rise in the status of the household and fixed new rank, required wealth, as did the proper ceremonies to maintain the child in his new position. Families were constantly trying to raise their status, which could be done only by accumulating and dispensing wealth. Man power was the outstanding requirement; the more adult males there were, the better off was the household. Since there was also a certain amount of feud and blood revenge

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service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals,[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597 ●
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [476]
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts--Analyst]

/15 cont./ 164 842

A number of Marquesans, both male and female, are sterile. In collecting female reproductive life histories, my wife found that sterility in the female, at least, could be often traced to severe cases of venereal disease in adolescence or early adulthood. Similar causes apparently lie behind most of the sterility in males also. The high frequency of venereal disease in the past has taken its toll. It was not until after World War II actually that some realistic control was exercised on social diseases in French Polynesia. Because of the frequency of sterility there are many families consisting of a nuclear couple with only adopted children. 597

In the early 1900's adoption apparently took place at an early age. One of my workmen had never been nursed by his mother, being carried to his adoptive mother for this service at the age of one day. Other individuals recounted similar histories. During the past three decades, however, a trend toward later adoption has begun and many children now are 6 or 7 years old before they go to their foster homes. This may be a result of increased attention to the qualifications of the prospective adoptees. [178]

/17/

Infancy and Childhood

Marquesan infants are cared for largely by their parents and grandparents until they can walk, usually between 9 months and 1 year. At this time they become the responsibility of some of the older siblings. These are generally quite solicitous of their younger siblings, exerting great efforts to carry them when they are tired, and otherwise cater to them. Children carry infants on their backs, with the infant's legs under the arms of the carrier while its arms are used to hold on to its neck or shoulders. In other instances, infants are carried astride the hip. Both practices were observed to result in slight lordosis of the spine for the carrier in instances where infants required long periods of carrying. 854 [164]

Within weeks after birth, many female infants are begun on a cycle of medication which will prepare them for their 856 757

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements.

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past.

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman.

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a